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STUDIES ON THE EXTINCT PUEBLO OF PECOS¹

By EDGAR L. HEWETT

INTRODUCTION

The ethno-archeologist who is seeking to recover the history of any one of our southwestern tribes finds his sources of information gradually fading. Ancient dwellings are being torn down and with them are disappearing some of our best evidences of primitive sociologic conditions. Aboriginal burial mounds are being plowed up and the mortuary pottery therein reduced to fragments or scattered abroad with no accompanying data, thus obliterating our best paleographic record of primitive thought. Old people are dying and with their passing ancient languages are lost beyond recovery, and traditionary testimony of ancient migrations, ritual, and religion melt away.

Tracking the movements of any group of the human race is a most fascinating occupation, no matter how obscure may be the traces left behind. But the scientific man feels much more secure in his conclusions if to documentary evidence he can add linguistic, to this ethnologic, to this archeologic, and so on, until, by careful checking of one sort of evidence against another, he is finally able to construct an unassailable record.

The importance of any given group of people can not always be measured by its prominence in documentary history. The Phœnicians never occupied a formidable place among ancient world powers; we look upon them as great disseminators of culture, basing our belief on documentary, traditionary, and linguistic testimony. Now when one spends some time on the prehistoric archeology of Etruria, Campania, the Grecian peninsula, Cyprus, Rhodes, the old Trojan shore, the Nile delta, and ancient Carthaginian sites, he is overwhelmed with the vision of what this small

¹ A brief synopsis of the leading facts of this paper was presented at the meeting of the A. A. A. S. at Washington, Dec-Jan., 1902-'03. Some new matter has been added.

nation may have contributed to human welfare through its influence as a bearer of the pretraditional germs of that art which was to blossom into such marvelous perfection in Greece and Italy. It is simply that another source of evidence has served to illumine all former data.

Thus the student of the aboriginal tribes of America finds something of peculiar importance in every ethnologic area, whether its former occupants have completely vanished from the scene of action or not, and finds worthy of investigation every class of evidence that is still accessible. An area that may be studied from documentary, ethnologic, linguistic, and archeologic sources, and that is so situated as to bear obvious and important relations to surrounding areas, becomes especially attractive. Such is the position of the extinct pueblo of Pecos, in western San Miguel county, New Mexico. The tribe of Pecos may not occupy a commanding place in Pueblo history, but the indications are that the study of its ruined pueblos may yield important data for comparative purposes. This paper will merely point out in a preliminary way some studies that are in progress and may be pursued at some future time with more definite results. This research does not go into the documentary history of Pecos nor traverse again the ground covered by Mr Bandelier. No student of Pecos, nor indeed of any phase of southwestern archeology, will proceed without first becoming familiar with that splendid piece of work. He should carry the report¹ with him and study it on the ground. During the seven years in which I have been spending short vacations and odd days in the study of Pecos, I have never found it necessary to do over again anything that Mr Bandelier has done. That much of the history of Pecos is a reliable and enduring record. My indebtedness to this distinguished savant will be apparent throughout this entire study. I wish here to gratefully acknowledge this obligation.

A brief statement of a few well-established facts of documentary history may be admitted at this point for the use of the general reader.

¹ *Report on the Ruins of the Pueblo of Pecos*, by A. F. Bandelier; Papers of the Archaeological Inst. of America, American series, 1, 1881.

Pecos was discovered in 1540 by the Coronado expedition. The pueblo then contained from 2,000 to 2,500 inhabitants, composing one of the strongest of the Pueblo tribes then in existence. The village consisted of two great communal dwellings, built on the terraced plan, each four stories high and containing, respectively, 585 and 517 rooms. The tribe figures prominently in the annals of the Coronado expedition in New Mexico in 1540-42. Two priests remained there to introduce christianity when Coronado began his long march back to Mexico. Fray Luis Descalona, or de Escalona, established there at this time the first mission planted in New Mexico, but he was killed probably before the close of 1542. There is then a hiatus of forty years in its documentary history. Antonio de Espejo visited Pecos in 1583, Castaño de Sosa in 1590-91, and Juan de Oñate in 1598, the last mentioned naming the pueblo Santiago. At this time Fray Francisco de San Miguel was assigned to administer to the spiritual welfare of the tribe, as well as to that of the Vaquero Apaches of the eastern plains and the pueblo dwellers in the Salinas to the south, but it is not probable that Pecos ever became his residence. Juan de Dios, a lay brother of Oñate's colony, was the next missionary to live at Pecos, where he is said to have learned the language, but he probably returned to Mexico in 1601.

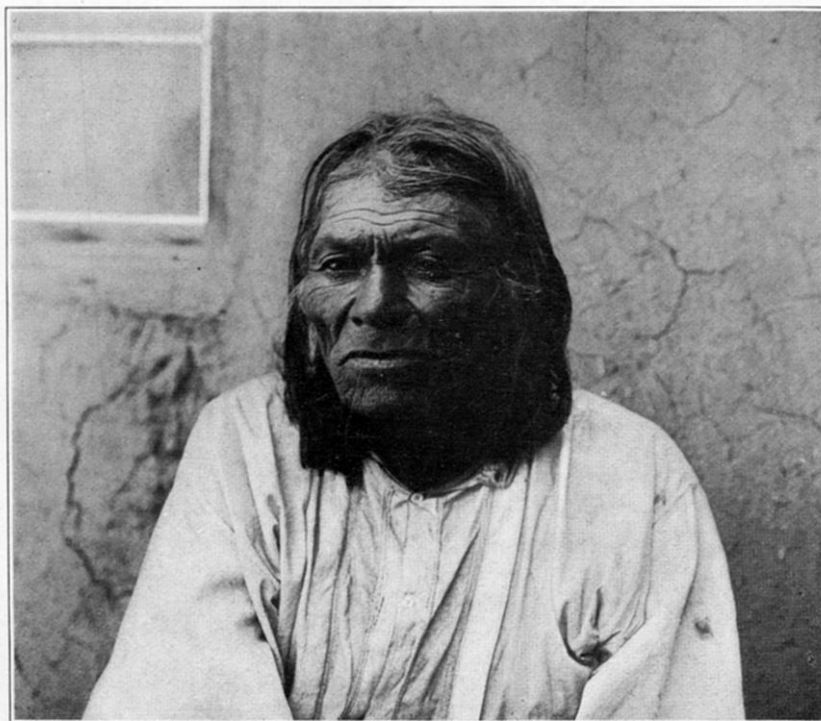
The great mission church, the ruins of which have for more than half a century formed such an imposing landmark on the old Santa Fé trail, was erected about 1617. Pecos practically held its own up to the end of the seventeenth century. Its decline, once started, was peculiarly rapid; the Comanche scourge and the "great sickness" worked speedy destruction. In 1840 the last steps were taken by which Pecos was abandoned and the group as a tribal entity became extinct.

We now pass to the investigations of recent years looking toward a closer ethnological and archeological knowledge of Pecos.

There is living today (August, 1904), at the village of Jemez, 60 miles in an air-line westward from Pecos, the sole survivor of Pecos pueblo. This man, known in his native tongue as Se-sa-fwe-yah, and bearing the baptismal name of Agustin Pecos, is a well-preserved Indian of perhaps eighty years of age. There are still



José Miguel Pecos (Zu-wa-ng), died 1902. (Photograph by K. M. Chapman, 1902.)



Agustín Pecos (Se-se-fwe-yah), nephew of José Miguel. (Photograph by A. C. Vroman, 1899.)

living at Jemez perhaps twenty-five Indians of Pecos blood, but Agustin Pecos has the distinction of being positively "the last leaf on the tree" when we speak of the Pecos as a tribal society, the tribe having ceased to exist in fact in 1838 and as a matter of record in 1840. Agustin was born at Pecos and believes himself to have been from twelve to fifteen years of age when the pueblo was abandoned. He has returned several times to the scenes of his childhood and the home of his ancestors, and his memory seems perfectly clear. He is a very honest and intelligent Indian and rather proud of the history of his tribe.

The next to the last survivor of the Pecos died at Jemez in the fall of 1902. This was Zu-wa-ng, baptized José Miguel Pecos, uncle of Agustin and probably from ten to fifteen years his senior. José Miguel was a young man when Pecos was abandoned; he was an excellent traditionist, possessed a keen memory, treasured his tribal history, and was ready to give information to those who gained his confidence.

Most of the traditionary material for this paper was obtained directly or indirectly from José Miguel and Agustin Pecos. (See plate XIV.) Mr F. W. Hodge visited Jemez in 1895 and 1899, and made some valuable notes which he has generously placed in my hands with permission to incorporate them in this paper. I may not be able to give full credit to Mr Hodge at every point where it is due, but I wish to say that his notes have been of great service in determining some of the most important ethnologic data presented. In recording the clan system of Pecos he was more successful than I, as will be seen by referring to his paper on "Pueblo Clans."¹ Mr Hodge obtained his information from José Miguel Pecos. The writer is indebted for his traditions to both José Miguel and Agustin. This information was received during two visits to Jemez in 1902, and, since the death of Miguel, by communication with Agustin through my friends Jesus Baca, an educated Jemez Indian, and Pablo Toya, son of the last governor of the Pecos tribe, born at Jemez after the abandonment of Pecos; a man who takes great interest in the tribal history and seems to know it very well.

¹ *American Anthropologist*, Oct., 1896.

THE VARIOUS NAMES FOR PECOS

In the Castañeda narrative¹ Pecos is known as Cicuye. This is probably the name by which it was known to the people of Tiguex, the village on the Rio Grande from which the Spaniards proceeded to Pecos—a people who spoke the Tigua language. It would be natural for the historian of the expedition to use the name learned at Tiguex, where Coronado's force had been in winter quarters. The people of Isleta, who speak the Tigua dialect and who doubtless embrace in their tribe some who are direct descendants from Tiguex, give *Sikuyé* as one of their names for Pecos,² and *Sikuyén* for the tribe.

The Pecos people call themselves Pe-kúsh. The Jemez name for Pecos is P'a-qu-láh (Mr Hodge recorded it P'a-tyu-lá). When it is remembered that the initial sound of a word or syllable is often so obscure as to escape notice by one to whom the Jemez pronunciation is new and strange, and the final syllable is also often indistinct, the derivation of a majority of the early documentary names for Pecos becomes plain. The inconsistencies in our synonymy are generally traceable to two or three original errors which have run their usual course of misprinting and misquotation. This is well illustrated by the following partial synonymy prepared by Mr Hodge. It should be borne in mind that the present Jemez name for Pecos is P'a-qu-láh.

A-cu-lah. Simpson (1849) in Rept. Sec. War, 143, 1850. (Given as native name of the pueblo.)

Acuyé. Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, I, 114, 1881. (Probably proper name of pueblo.)

Âgin. Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, I, 20, 1881. (Aboriginal name in Jemez language; *n* evidently a misprint for *u*.)

Agiu? Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 53, 1889. (Possible proper name, suggested by Bandelier's Âgiu, below.)

A-gu-yu. Bandelier in Ritch, New Mexico, 201, 1885.

Âgiu. Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, I, 114, 1881. (In the language of the former inhabitants of Pecos and those of Jemez.)

A-q'iu. Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Bull., I, 18, 1883.

Aqui. Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex. 53, 1889. (Misquoting Bandelier.)

Aquiu. Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, III, pt. I, 127, 1890. (Or Paequiu; same as Pae-quiu-la, the aboriginal name of the Pecos tribe.)

¹See Winship, *The Coronado Expedition*, Fourteenth Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1896; reprinted, New York, 1904.

²Gatschet, Isleta MS. vocabulary, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1879.

For the derivation of *Pecos*, which is the Hispanized form, we must go to the Queres or Keresan dialects, where we find it as follows :

Santo Domingo,	Pe-a-go,
Cochiti,	Pe-a-ku,
Sia,	Pe-ko,
Santa Ana,	Pe-a-ko,
Laguna,	Pe-a-ku-ni,

To the Spanish people who came in continuous contact with the Queres people after the founding of Santa Fé early in the seventeenth century, the word naturally soon lost its slight dialectic variations, the people becoming uniformly known as *los Pecos* and their village as *el pueblo de los Pecos*.

THE CLAN SYSTEM OF PECOS

Those who are particularly interested in the Pecos clans should consult the paper by Mr Hodge, previously cited. In 1902 I was able to obtain satisfactory evidence of but twelve clans, but Mr Hodge, in 1895, learned of nineteen. It will be noticed that three of the clans in my list do not appear in that of Mr Hodge, so that, on good traditionary evidence, twenty-two Pecos clans are known to have existed. Following is a list of the clans recorded by me ; those marked with the asterisk are not in Mr Hodge's list.

Wâ-kâh,	Cloud,
Pe,	Sun,
Se-peh,	Eagle,
Kyu-nu,	Corn,
Whâ-lu,	Bear,
Shi-ah-hti,	Mountain Lion,
Wâ-hâ,*	Squash,
Pâh-kâh-tâh,	Sand,
A-la-wah-ku,*	Elk,
Al-lu,*	Antelope,
Pe-dâhl-lu,	Wild Turkey,
Fwah,	Fire.

The linguistic differences will probably be harmonized by further comparison of the Jemez and Pecos dialects. While it is true

that these belong to the same linguistic stock, the differences are greater than the writer had been led to expect. It is still possible, through Agustin Pecos and Pablo Toya, to recover the Pecos language — a work in which some student of Indian philology may render a great service to science. The Pecos dialect was much modified by the Tano, probably also by the Piro, tribes which are now extinct, while Jemez tradition holds that their dialect grew out of the Pecos in combination with their own *Ta-tsa-a*. As it is not obvious that the Jemez dialect was modified by the small accession from Pecos in 1838, the tradition points to a possible earlier and greater accession from the Pecos tribe in prehistoric times. Evidences of the prehistoric relations between Jemez and Pecos should be sought in the Jemez ritual, which has as yet received but little attention; and the clan history of Jemez should be investigated with great persistence, for therein lies the key, when interpreted in connection with archeologic evidence, to the story of ethnological development in the Pecos and Rio Grande valleys.

ARCHEOLOGY OF THE PECOS VALLEY

Let us turn now to a consideration of certain archeological conditions in the upper Pecos valley. Here our old traditionists at Jemez are of great assistance in a corroborative way.

The ruins in Pecos territory may be grouped as follows:

Class I. — The great ruins of the pueblo of Old Pecos. These are described in detail in the report by Bandelier, previously referred to, and will not be redescribed here.

Class II. — Several ruins of smaller communal houses, of the type shown in figure 9, containing from 200 to 300 rooms each, and numerous contemporary ruins of similar construction but containing only from ten to fifty rooms each. These latter were but one story high and were not built around a court or plaza. The former were two stories high and generally embraced the four sides of a quadrangle. These remains are all older than those of Class I.

Class III. — Numerous rock shelters of a very primitive type found throughout the valley wherever there are overhanging cliffs. No description of these will be attempted in this paper.

The only ruins of Class I to be found within the Pecos territory

are those of the well-known Old Pecos pueblo. At the time of the coming of the Spaniards the entire tribe of Pecos was concentrated at this one point. On this documentary,¹ traditionary, and archeologic evidences are all in accord.

From among the ruins of Class II, which are scattered over Pecos territory from the north end of Cañon de Pecos Grant to Anton Chico, a distance of about forty miles, I have selected one, the ancient pueblo of Ton-ch-un, for brief description.

Ton-ch-un lies about five miles southeast of Pecos pueblo and about one mile from the Rio Pecos. The accompanying plan (figure 9) should be accepted as only approximately correct. Excavation will be necessary to lay bare the walls, which are in a fairly good state of preservation to a height of six to eight feet, though so obscured by debris as to be difficult to trace. This building was almost 400 feet long and contained upward of 300 rooms. Sections A and B were two stories in height, and section C was of one story. The detached sections D and E were one-story structures and illustrate the plan of the numerous small houses scattered over the valley, which are referred to above, and which of late years are rapidly disappearing. No burial mounds have been discovered at Ton-ch-un, and as yet I have obtained no entire pieces of pottery therefrom. Enough large fragments have been obtained, however, to indicate that excavation will yield what is needed for study.

The traditions regarding Ton-ch-un are well preserved at Jemez. This was the last outlying village in Pecos territory to be abandoned as the process of concentration went on. It held out for many years after the seven or eight other villages of nearly if not quite equal size had given up the struggle and merged with the main aggregation. These were not mere summer residences, but were permanent habitations, each of which sheltered several clans for several generations. Some of the small dwellings referred to doubtless served as summer residences near the growing crops, but on the other hand some of them were permanent clan homes. The traditions indicate that the clan that lived on the Cañon de Pecos Grant and the first dwellers on the site of Pecos pueblo came

¹ See Bandelier, *Report on the Ruins of the Pueblo of Pecos*, op. cit., p. 117.

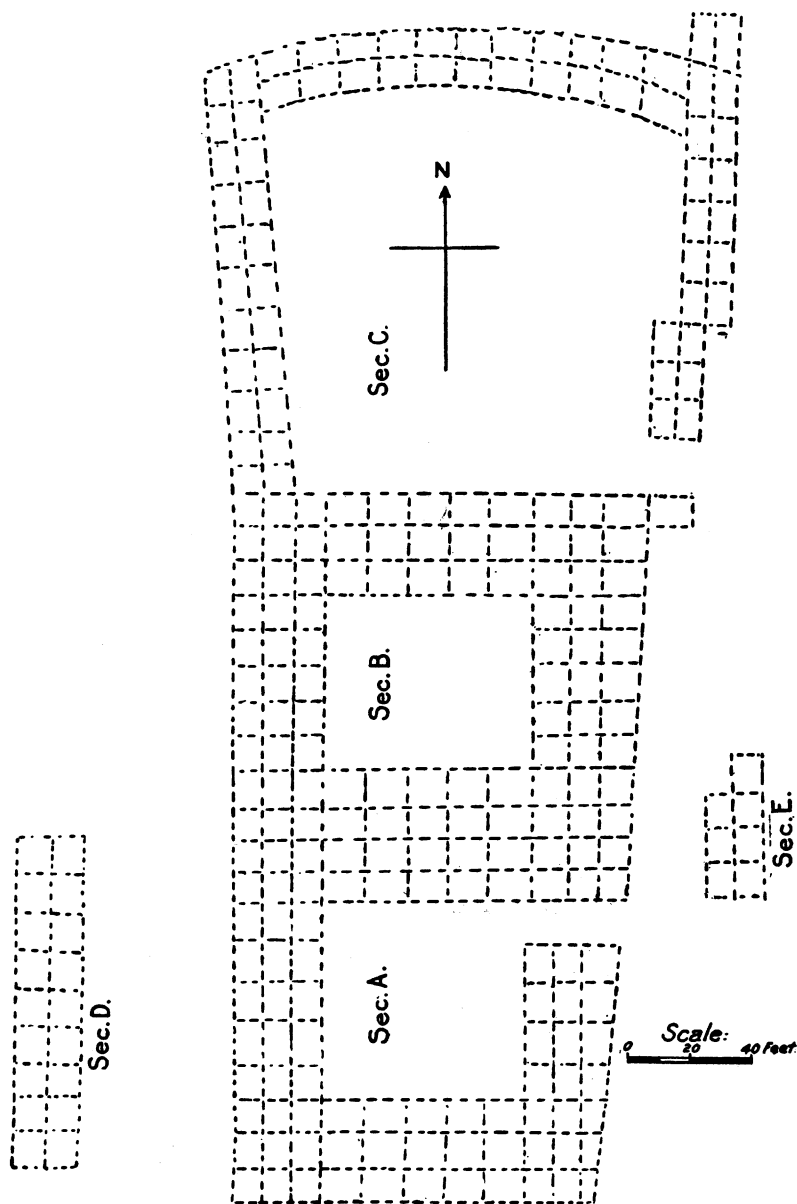


FIG. 9. — Ground-plan of the ruins of Ton-ch-un.

from the north ; that those living in Ton-ch-un and the surrounding group of dwellings entered the valley from the west and were of the stock of Jemez ; while those living toward the southern end of the territory of Pecos were said to have come from the direction of the so-called Mesa Jumanes and the Manzano mountains. As the traditions are vague, archeological evidence must be brought to bear on this problem. Archeological work should be done among the ruins in the valley first of all, and, for comparative study, any excavations made in the "Gran Quivira" region, in the Rio Grande valley, and about Jemez will be of interest. It is possible also that both archeological and traditionary data bearing on the question may be obtained at Picuris and Taos.

CONCENTRATION AND EXTINCTION

The area occupied by the Pecos tribe was small. It was embraced within the narrow confines of the Pecos valley, extending from northwest to southeast for a distance of about forty miles, or from the north end of the Cañon de Pecos Grant, about five miles above the ruins of Pecos pueblo, to the present Mexican settlement of Anton Chico. Their territory nowhere exceeded ten miles in width and had an average width of about five miles. Their boundary was rather sharply fixed on all sides. At no place outside of these boundaries have ruins indicating Pecos occupancy been found, and the traditions verify this. Their situation was economically strong ; their land was productive, their water supply ample, and their proximity to the buffalo country gave them articles of commerce much in demand by the tribes farther west. During a long period of peace they could not fail to prosper. But their geographical position was such as to afford no security after the arrival of the predatory tribes. Their eastern frontier had no protection at all from the nomadic robbers who found in them a desirable prey because of their rather exceptional prosperity.

These depredations certainly began long before the coming of the Spaniards, at a time when the population was distributed in small communities over their entire territory, for the concentration was entirely accomplished by the year 1540. This concentration movement was toward the north. The village at Pecos was the most

favorably situated of any in the valley for a tribal stronghold. To this point the clans gradually fell back, Ton-ch-un being the last to give way. The two great communal house clusters at Pecos were enlarged from time to time as occasion necessitated. It is probable that Agustin Pecos can localize the clans as they occupied the two great house groups if he can be induced to visit the site with some observer. At last the entire tribe was sheltered in the great houses of the one community. Their village was walled and made as nearly impregnable as possible, and there developed a tribe of such strength as to be able to hold its own for some centuries. The traditions of this period of Pecos history point to incessant strife with the Comanches, who made their appearance in New Mexico with the dawn of the eighteenth century.

The story of the decay of Pecos, which had its beginning after the Pueblo revolt of 1680-92, has been told many times — best of all by Bandelier. The traditions of the "great sickness" which reduced the tribe to such desperate straits early in the nineteenth century and finally led to the abandonment of the village, will admit of some further investigation. It now seems probable that this was a malady of frequent recurrence for many years, possibly for half a century. An examination of the drainage of the pueblo makes the cause of the epidemics quite evident. Of the two springs used by the village, the one on the left bank of the arroyo and which never failed, as the one on the right bank sometimes did, is so situated as to receive the drainage of both the church cemetery and the old communal burial mound. It is a singular fact that to this day the Mexicans of the valley speak of this as the "Poisoned Spring." As my party proceeded to Pecos to make camp in the summer of 1899, we were warned by the Mexicans not to use the water from the "Poisoned Spring."

The traditionists at Jemez agreed in stating that on the day of leaving Pecos the tribe consisted of seven men (two of whom had been away for some weeks), seven women, and three children. They fix the date of abandonment almost beyond question by declaring it to have been the year following the murder of Governor Albino Perez. As that event occurred in August, 1837, the extinction of Pecos may be definitely fixed at 1838.

The Pecos Indians still make pilgrimages to their ancestral home. The last occurred seven years ago, and the writer has a letter from them dated October, 1903, stating that the Pecos Indians wish to visit the old pueblo in August of this year and asking the writer if he can help to secure them from molestation when they go to visit and open their sacred cave. I do not know the exact location of this cave, nor have I learned whether or not the proposed visit has been consummated.

CONCLUSIONS

The most important result of the study of Pecos is, to my mind, to be found not so much in what it adds to the history of one Indian tribe, as in the light it sheds on the great problem of primitive sociologic evolution in this highly important branch of our aboriginal races, the Pueblo Indians. This study of a small area is of but little value unless considered in connection with the larger results of other investigators. The masterly work of Dr Fewkes in Arizona marks an epoch in anthropological research in America. To him every student of anthropology in the generations to come must acknowledge profound obligation. Pecos is a "type" area. The study of its problems must be the study of all Pueblo problems and the method employed must be susceptible of wider application.

The writer here desires to propose, provisionally, for the use of students of the Pueblos, the following analysis of their history, founded on sociologic development and pointed out as a conclusion derived from all previous investigations in southwestern ethnology. It was proposed in my unpublished courses of university extension lectures in 1899-1900. I will enter upon no discussion of it here, but at some future time hope to present a paper on the subject.

1. *The Epoch of Concentration.*—From the present day back to the time of the concentration of clans for defensive purposes into the great communal houses, made expedient by the arrival of the nomadic, predatory tribes; giving rise to a new system of social relations; leading to the formation of the present Pueblo languages by composition from clan dialects; the elaboration of the great ritualistic ceremonies as a result of the integration of clan legends

and religious practices.¹ The rivalry of clans at the beginning of this epoch of integration was naturally a great stimulus to certain activities. The supremacy of any clan in the organization would depend largely on the extent to which it could apparently influence supernatural powers by invocatory, propitiatory, or divinatory methods, the exercise of these magic powers taking shape in ritual and finding graphic expression in pictography. Thus the highest development of the ceramic art, particularly its richest symbolic ornamentation, is found in the ruins occupied by tribes in the early stages of this epoch of concentration. The most elaborate of the communal cliff-dwellings may belong to this epoch.

2. *The Epoch of Diffusion.* — A long epoch established by voluminous archeologic and traditionary evidence, during which small communities were distributed over the semi-desert areas; devoted to agriculture; under matronymic social organization; dwelling in fairly substantial houses, yet somewhat migratory in habits. The pottery of this epoch was quite strictly utilitarian, never rich in symbolic ornament. The legends of the clans were embodied in migration and creation myths. In one sense it was an epoch of clan-making. The vast number of small communal houses and countless single cliff-dwellings and cavate lodges probably belong to this epoch. It was characterized by the absence of predatory enemies.

3. *The Pretraditionary Epoch.* — An obscure, archaic epoch of semi-sedentary occupation, supported by no traditionary and scant archeologic evidences, the principal remains of it known to the writer being the many rock-sheltered sites in the Gallinas valley below Las Vegas, many similar remains in the Pecos valley, particularly on the Cañon de Pecos Grant, and the large number of natural caves on the eastern base of the Jemez range in Pajarito Park which seem to have sheltered a population far inferior in culture to the occupants of the cavate lodges proper and the rudimentary communal houses; in short, a people in the most primitive stages of culture of which obvious evidences are found on the American continent.

¹ See *Tusayan Migration Traditions*, by J. Walter Fewkes; Nineteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 578.

APPENDIX

A communication received from the Pecos Indians at Jemez since the foregoing paper was put in type, conveys the information that they made their pilgrimage to their ancestral home during the last week in August and on opening their sacred cave "found everything all right."

I am informed by them in the same letter that the list of Pecos clans should include two more, namely, the *Mor-bāh* or Parrot and the *Hā-yāh* or Snake, neither of which was previously recorded by either Mr Hodge or myself. They assert that all the Pecos clans are now extinct excepting the Cloud, Sun, and Turquoise.

Agustin Pecos has also caused to be compiled for me a complete census of the tribe at the time of leaving Pecos in 1838. I regard it as rather a valuable record. The names are given in the Pecos dialect, and in some cases I am in doubt as to pronunciation. In such cases I have not marked the vowels.

<i>Men</i>	Tye-con-wa-ū
Se-hoñ-ba	Shi-añ-kyā-con-no
Zu-wa-ng	Sun-ti-wa-ū
Shi-to-ne	Ma-ta
Wa-ng	Hā-ya-sha
Gal-la	Wa-ū
Val-ū	<i>Children</i>
Hur-ba	Se-sa-fwe-yah
<i>Women</i>	Tā-at-qū
Po-vā	Da-lur